

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 4778

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: CENTO, MILI
SUBJ: EXERCISE ZANJEER '77

REF: (A) ANKARA 3569, (B) ANKARA 3478

1. EMBOFF (KENNEDY) ATTENDED TWO EXERCISE ZANJEER '77 SITUATION
BRIEFINGS ON 5/18/77 AND 5/24/77, AND THE CRITIQUE ON 5/25/77.

OTHER POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVES WERE MR. EBRAHIM JAHANNEMA,
IRANIAN EMBASSY, ANKARA; DR. AMIR HOLAKO AMIR DIBADJ AND MR.
SIRDAR HASAN MAHMUD, DSGS CENTO SECRETARIAT; AND MR. PETER
WESTMACOTT, BRITISH EMBASSY, TEHRAN.

2. AT BRIEFING ON 5/18/77 BRIGADIER SARDAR (PAK) PRESENTED ORALLY
LIST OF POLITICAL PROBLEMS/QUESTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED BY POLITICAL
REPS:

(A) WHAT WOULD BE THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF POLITICAL DISCUS-
SIONS AND REACTIONS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS PRIOR TO
AND DURING HOSTILITIES?

B) WHAT WOULD BE THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF SUPPORT FROM NON-
REGIONAL ALLIES?

C) WOULD THE US/UK GUARANTEE PAKISTAN'S EASTERN BORDER IN
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EVENT OF HOSTILITIES?

D) WHAT WOULD BE THE US/UK ATTITUDE TOWARD AFGHANISTAN
IN SITUATIONS SIMILAR TO ZANJEER?

E) WHAT IS THE ROLE OF NATO VIS-A-VIS TURKEY IN SIUTATIONS
SIMILAR TO ZANJEER?

F) UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD THE EMBARGOS AGAINST
TURKEY AND PAKISTAN BE LIFTED?

G) UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD MANPOWER SUPPORT FROM NON-REGIONAL ALLIES BE FORTHCOMING?

H) WOULD THE US/UK PROTECT TURKEY FROM GREEK INTERVENTION IN THE EVENT OF HOSTILITIES?

I) WOULD THE ALGIERS ACCORD BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ PREVENT IRAQ FROM BECOMING INVOLVED IN REGIONAL HOSTILITIES?

J) WHAT PEACETIME COORDINATION EFFORTS AMONG CENTO ALLIES WOULD THE POLITICAL REPS RECOMMEND?

AT POLITICAL MEETINGS, THE US/UK REPS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT MANY OF THE PROBLEMS/QUESTIONS WERE LONG-RANGE POLICY ISSUES BEYOND THE SCOPE OF ZANJEER SCENARIO AND SHOULD NOT BE ADDRESSED IN THIS FORUM.

3. AT 5/24/77 SITUATION BRIEFING, MAHMUD ACTED AS POLITICAL SPOKESMAN AND EMPHASIZED DANGERS TO TURKEY FROM GREECE AND TO PAKISTAN FROM INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN. AFTER THE BRIEFING, MAHMUD PRODUCED EIGHT PAGE PAPER WHICH HE HAD DRAFTED AND WHICH HE WANTED POLITICAL REPS TO ENDORSE. US/UK REPS OBJECTED TO PAPER SAYING IT WAS (A) A POLICY DOCUMENT NOT WITHIN SCOPE OF EXERCISE AND (B) AN UNNECESSARY RESPONSE TO (ORAL) POLITICAL PROBLEMS/QUESTIONS, IRAN REP JAHANNEMA AGREED WITH US/UK STAND. MAHMUD INSISTED THE PAPER BE CONSIDERED BY THE POLITICAL REPS. US/UK REPS THEN REVISED PAPER EXTENSIVELY LIMITING ITS FOCUS TO ZANJEER. MAHMUD WAS VISIBLY DISTRESSED BY US/UK REVISIONS BUT SAID HE WOULD CONSIDER THEM.

4. AT CRITIQUE MAHMUD AGAIN ACTED AS SPOKESMAN BUT SOFTENED OVERALL LINE AND DELETED MOST REFERENCES TO TURKEY/GREECE/CYPRUS AND INDIA/PAK, INDIA/AFGHANISTAN DIFFICULTIES. HE STATED THAT ZANJEER CONTAINED "INADEQUATE POLITICAL GUIDANCE" BECAUSE "ORIGINAL NOMINEES DID NOT ATTEND". HE STRESSED A) LIFTING EMBARGOS, (B) CLARIFI-

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CATION OF NATO/TURKEY RELATIONSHIP AND OBLIGATIONS, (C) ACCESS OF CENTO TO U.S. SATELLITE INTELLIGENCE, AND (D) CONSTRUCTION OF CENTO HIGHWAY BETWEEN IRAN AND PAKISTAN. DIRECTLY AFTER THE CRITIQUE, HE DEPARTED FOR ANKARA AND DID NOT MENTION PAPER AGAIN.

5. PMDG CHAIRMAN ALSO COMMENTED ON POLITICAL GUIDANCE AT CRITIQUE. HE STATED SCENARIO MUST BE AS REALISTIC AS POSSIBLE AND MUST INCLUDE CONTINUOUS POLITICAL INPUT. HE SAID POLITICAL ASPECTS HAD BEEN "DEEMPHASIZED" THIS YEAR IN CONTRAST TO EXERCISE ZANJEER '75 IN PAKISTAN WHERE THEY HAD BEEN "OVEREMPHASIZED".

6. OTHER SPEAKERS (SELF-INTEREST ASIDE) SEEMED SATISFIED WITH RESULTS OF ZANJEER AND STRESSED A) NEED FOR CENTO COMMAND STRUCTURE; B) NEED FOR STANDARDIZATION OF EQUIPMENT AND STAFF PROCEDURES WITHIN CENTO; AND C) NEED FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE PLANNING.

7. COMMENT: OPPORTUNITY NOT PRESENT AT EXERCISE ZANJEER '77 FOR POLITICAL REPS TO FUNCTION AS "CIVILIAN DECISIONMAKERS" ENVISIONED ANKARA 3478. WHILE MAHMUD AND OTHER PAKS TRIED TO ENLARGE SCENARIO

AT POLITICAL LEVEL TO INCLUDE HOSTILITIES WITH TURKEY, INDIA AND AFGANISTAN, THEY WRE UNSUCCESSFUL. CRITICISM WAS ALSO DIRECTED AT US/UK REPS FOR PART-TIME PARTICIPATION WHICH WAS DEEMED INSUFFICIENT BY CRITICS TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE POLITICAL GUIDANCE. US/UK REPS FELT THAT POLITICAL GUIDANCE (IN FORMAT ZANJEER'77) WAS UNNECESSARY AND INEFFECTIVE BECAUSE GUIDANCE REQUESTED EXCEEDED SCOPE OF EXERCISE AND BECAUSE CHANNELS FOR INCORPORATING GUIDANCE INTO EXERCISE WERE NOT PRESENT. IF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IS TO BE USEFUL IN FUTURE ZANJEERS, THE SCENARIO MUST BE WRITTEN TO INCLUDE A VIABLE ROLE FOR POLITICAL REPS. END COMMENT.
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